

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2180

S E C R E T GEORGETOWN 2196

NODIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - T E X T

DEPT PLS PASS USLO PEKING

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MOPS CU GY AO

SUBJ: CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA: GUYANA TRANSIT  
FACILITIES

REFS: A. STATE 302692; B. GEORGETOWN 2195 (NOTAL); C. STATE 303329

1. I DELIVERED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MESSAGE TO PRIME  
MINISTER BURNHAM AT HIS COUNTRY RESIDENCE AT 1600  
DEC 26. FONMIN WILLS, THROUGH WHOM I ARRANGED APPOINTMENT,  
ALSO PRESENT, CONVERSATION LASTED 90 MINUTES,  
ATMOSPHERE FRIENDLY BUT MARKED BY CONSTANT NEEDLING  
OF USG POLICIES BY BURNHAM.

2. IN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S APPEAL REGARDING TRANSIT  
FACILITIES, BURNHAM AUTHORIZED ME TO CONVEY  
FOLLOWING TO SECRETARY:

A. NO RPT NO CUBAN FLIGHTS OF NATURE DESCRIBED  
IN SECRETARY'S MESSAGE (FIRST PARA) HAVE PASSED THROUGH GUYANA.

B. CUBA HAS MADE NO RPT NO REQUEST FOR  
FACILITIES FOR SUCH FLIGHTS (HE ACKNOWLEDGED EXISTENCE  
OF CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT).

C. JUST AS USG IS DECRYING INTERVENTION BY CUBA AND SOVIET  
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UNION IN ANGOLA, AND WITH GREATER EMOTIONAL INTENSITY, GUYANA

PROTESTS SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION AND IS UNABLE TO ACCEPT FAILURE OF USG TO SINGLE OUT SOUTH AFRICA INTERVENTION PUBLICLY.

D. WHEN I ASKED BURNHAM WHAT GOG WOULD DO IF CUBANS DID REQUEST FACILITIES, HE PRETENDED AT FIRST TO TAKE OFFENSE AT IMPLIED DEROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY BUT CONCEDED IN END THAT HE WAS UNPREPARED TO MAKE ADVANCE COMMITMENT.

3. OUR CONVERSATION COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS ONCE WE HAD DISPOSED OF IMMEDIATE QUESTION, BUT TIME AND AGAIN BOTH BURNHAM AND WILLS REVERTED TO CRITICISM OF USG ATTITUDES AND INACTIVITY ON AFRICAN LIBERATION. OUR TRIPLE VETO (WITH UK AND FRANCE) ON SOUTH AFRICAN RESOLUTION FA UNSC, OUR POLICY ON RHODESIAN CHROME, OUR PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, OUR ARMS ALES TO SOUTH AFRICA, FIGURED AMONG EXAMPLES THEY CITED AS SHOWING OUR HEARTS WERE REALLY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND WE STILL DON'T GIVE A FIG FOR OPPRESSED BLACKS IN AFRICA. WILLS WAS ESPECIALLY OFFENDED AT SOUTH AFRICAN USE OF UN TRUSTEESHIP TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA FOR STAGING. I ATTEMPTED AS BEST I COULD TO PUT EACH OF THE ISSUES INTO PERSPECTIVE AND TO INDICATE WE WOULD BE GREATLY RELIEVED IF SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD GO HOME. BUT THE THEME SONG COULD NOT BE TURNED OFF: SOUTH AFRICA IS THE REAL BAD ACTOR; YOU'VE GOT TO HELP US PUT AN END TO WHITE OPPRESSION AND MINORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE YOU CAN EXPECT US TO PAY ATTENTION TO YOUR STRUCTURES ON SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT.

4. USG INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, AS SEEN IN NEWS REPORTS OF \$50 MILLION ARMS ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE, PLUS RECENT ALLEGATIONS THAT AMERICANS ARE PILOTING SPOTTER PLANES OVER ANGOLA WAS ANOTHER TARGET OF BURNHAM'S NEEDLE. HE ASKED HOW WE COULD OBJECT TO SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT WHEN WE WERE ALSO, THOUGH ADMITTEDLY INDIRECTLY, INVOLVED. HE EVEN ASKED RHETORICALLY AT ONE POINT IF U.S. WOULD CUT OFF ASSISTANCE TO FNLA/UNITA IF HE GUARANTEED NOT TO ALLOW CUBAN MILITARY AIRLIFT TO TRANSIT GUYANA.

5. COMMENT: BURNHAM WAS OBVIOUSLY ON DEFENSIVE, BUT HE CHOOSE A FAIRLY GOOD OFFENSIVE TACTIC TO PUT OFF OUR APPEAL. I BELIEVE BURNHAM HOPES TO AVOID BECOMING INVOLVED IN THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE, AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER HE SEES WHAT TRANSPIRES

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AT OAU SUMMIT MEETING JAN 10-11. (IN FACT HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY GOG POLICY REMAINED TIED TO OAU CONSENSUS.) I IMAGINE HE HOPES BY THAT TIME A CLEAR CONSENSUS WILL EMERGE IN FAVOR OF MPLA AND HE CAN THEN ALLOW CUBAN FLIGHTS TO TRANSIT WITHOUT QUALMS OF CONSCIENCE.

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